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Department of State

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FROM: PARIS

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TO: Secretary of State

POLTO 2492, MARCH 4, 4 P.M.

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SENT DEPARTMENT POLTO 2492, REPEATED INFORMATION BONN POLTO 428, BERLIN POLTO 51, LONDON POLTO 667, MOSCOW POLTO 142.

POUCHED ALL OTHER NATO CAPITALS POLTO UNNUMBERED.

NAC DISCUSSION MARCH 4, PRIVATE SESSION: BERLIN- GERMANY.

SUMMARY:

BELGIUM CIRCULATED PAPER, AND CANADA PRESENTED ITS VIEWS ON SITUATION ORALLY. UNITED KINGDOM GAVE FURTHER COMMENT ON MACMILLAN TRIP. THIS SUBJECT PLACED ON AGENDA FOR MARCH 11 NAC MEETING FOR DISCUSSION ON BOTH PROCEDURE AND SUBSTANCE. END SUMMARY.

BELGIUM, URGING PROMPT ARRIVAL AT SUBSTANTIVE POSITION, CIRCULATED LENGTHY PAPER, COPIES BEING POUCHED AND SUMMARY BEING CABLED SEPARATELY.

CANADA CIRCULATED EXCERPTS FON MIN'S STATEMENT TO COMMONS FEBRUARY 26 (COPIES POUCHED) REGISTRY 549384 ORALLY DREW ATTENTION TO THREE POINTS IN SMITH STATEMENT:

- 1) WEST SHOULD NOT REFUSE CONSIDER ANY PROPOSAL PUT FORWARD BY RUSSIANS ON WEST;
- 2) COULD ENVISAGE SOME FORM OF LIMITATION ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS UNDER SUPERVISION;

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- 3) THERE SHOULD BE NO CHANGE IN BALANCE OF MILITARY SECURITY TO DETRIMENT OF WEST.

SAID THERE IS NEED TO STUDY SECURITY GUARANTEES AND POSSIBLE ADJUSTMENTS OF DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS AS THESE WILL HAVE TO BE PARTS OF ANY SETTLEMENT. PUBLIC OPINION EXPECTS WEST TO DEAL WITH THESE ASPECTS, IN LIGHT VARIOUS PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY WESTERN OFFICIALS AND LAST WESTERN REPLIES WHICH SAID "ALL ASPECTS" OF PROBLEM SHOULD BE CONSIDERED. SAID THINNING OUT SHOULD BE PART OF PLAN, BASED ON PARA 3 OF WESTERN PROPOSAL AT GENEVA 1955. WEST SHOULD ALSO CONSIDER POSSIBLE MUTUAL LIMITATION ON NUCLEAR WEAPONS.

AS ANY EAST-WEST TALKS WILL RAISE ISSUE OF RAPACKI PLAN, NAC SHOULD ASK SGN TO PREPARE ASSESSMENT OF REVISED RAPACKI PLAN, UPDATING SG-257 PARTICULARLY RE PROPOSAL ON STANDSTILL ON TACTICAL NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN CENTRAL SUPPORTED GFR PROPOSAL FOR FOUR-POWER COMMISSION WITH EAST AND WEST GERMAN ADVISERS AS MEANS FOR POSSIBILITY LONG AND QUIET NEGOTIATIONS ON AUSTRIAN PATTERN AND AS SAFEGUARD AGAINST PROVACATIVE MOVES WHILE TALKS UNDER WAY. ALSO SUPPORTED INCREASE TECHNICAL COOPERATION BETWEEN TWO GERMANYS.

AGREED EARLIER SPAAK STATEMENT WESTERN PROPOSALS NEEDED REVISION TO MEET WESTERN PUBLIC OPINION NEEDS. SHOULD NOT BE AFRAID TO ADVANCE SOMETHING SIMPLY BECAUSE RUSSIANS WERE TO REFUSE THEM.

CANADA VERY GRAVELY CONCERNED RE BERLIN. WELCOMES STATEMENTS THAT WESTERN POSITION WILL NOT BE ABANDONED, BUT ALTERNATIVES MUST BE STUDIED.

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-3- POLTO 2492, MARCH 4, 4 P.M., FROM PARIS

SUGGESTED FOUR-POWER COMMISSION WHICH GFR HAD PROPOSED MIGHT HAVE SOME RESPONSIBLITY WITH REGARD TO SUPERVISING THINNING OUT OF FORCES AND INCREASED RELATIONS BETWEEN TWO GERMANYS.

REPEATED EARLIER STATEMENT NO PROCEDURAL QUESTION SHOULD STAND IN WAY OF MEETING OR DECISION TO HOLD FOUR-POWER MEETING BEFORE MAY 27.

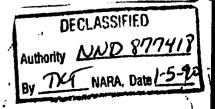
TURNING TO UN, GAVE PRELIMINARY ASSESSMENT ON POSSIBLE UN ROLE. REFERRED TO HAMMARSKJOLD'S CAUTIOUS PRESS CONFERENCE FEBRUARY 26. UN ROLE MIGHT DEAL WITH (1) POSITIVE PRESENCE OF UN IN BERLIN IN SOME FORM; (2) UN GUARANTEE OF FREEDOM OF ACCESS; (3) BRINGING CRISIS TO SECURITY COUNCIL ON FIRST TWO ISSUES. EXPERIENCE SHOWS NOT POSSIBLE TO GET UN AGREEMENT UNLESS FOUR-POWERS WOULD BE AGREED. ON THIRD POINT SAID THAT IF INCIDENT OCCURS, WOULD HAVE TO BE BROUGHT TO ATTENTION SECURITY COUNCIL, WHERE RUSSIANS WOULD EVETO. QUESTION IS THEN WHETHER TO GO TO GENERAL ASSEMBLY. VERY IMPORTANT DEFINE FORM OF WESTERN COMPLAINT TO SECURITY COUNCIL OR GENERAL ASSEMBLY.

IT WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT TO GET TWO-THIRDS VOTE IN GENERAL ASSEMBLY ON ISSUE WHETHER ACCESS SHOULD BE CLEARED THROUGH EAST GERMAN AUTHORITIES.

CONCLUSION IS THAT NEGOTIATIONS IN FOUR-POWER FRAMEWORK PREFERABLE TO RAISING ISSUE IN UNITED NATIONS, ALTHOUGH FOUR-POWER TALKS MAY LEAD TO UN ROLE.

IN RESPONSE TO SPAAK QUESTION, CANADA WILL SEEK AUTHORITY TO CIRCULATE STATEMENT.

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UK HAD NOTHING OFFICIAL TO ADD OR CHANGE PRIOR REPORT RE MACMILLAN VISIT. SAID MACMILLAN PARTY HAD BEEN SHOWN SOVIET NOTE BEFORE DELIVERY, PERHAPS AS MEASURE TO COVER UP PRIOR RUDENESS. HANAS# NO OFFICIAL VIEWS, BUT NOTE HAS AWKWARD FACTORS. WHILE SOVIETS AT LAST ACCEPT FON MINS, AGENDA THEY PROPOSED IS STRICTLY LIMITED. NOT RUSSIAN OFFER OF TWO TO THREE MONTHS DURATION OF FON MINS MEANS TALKS CAN BE GOING ON ON MAY 27 AND MAY BE A LITTLE LESS OF TONE OF ULTIMATUM THAN PRIOR RUSSIAN POSITION. BUT MATTER MUST BE CAREFULLY CONSIDERED IN NATO.

RE NON-AGGRESSION PACT, POINTED OUT UK POSITION IS OPPOSED TO NON-AGGRESSION PACT, WHICH SHOULD BE CAP-STONE OF AGREEMENT AND NOT ACCEPTED AS FIRST STEP OR IN ISOLATION. NON-AGGRESSION PACT SHOULD BE MULTILATERAL, NOT MERELY BILATERAL. IN RESPONSE TO RUSSIAN OFFER, MACMILLAN HAD MADE CLEAR THAT HE WAS OFFERING SOMETHING DIFFERENT IN WAY OF JOINT DECLARATION.

DISCUSSION ENSUED AS TO WORK PROGRAM FOR NEXT WEEK IN LIGHT NEW SOVIET NOTE. UNITED STATES INTERVENED TO SAY IT WAS TOO EARLY NOW TO DEVELOP DETAILED PROCEDURE. CHAIRMAN SUMMED UP THAT SUBJECT WOULD BE ON AGENDA MARCH 11 TO DEAL WITH BOTH PROCEDURE AND SUBSTANCE IN LIGHT WORKING GROUP ACTIVITY. SPAAK PROPOSED ONE OF FOUR PERM REPS PRESENT REPLY FOR WORKING GROUP, EXPERTS BEING PRESENT IN SUPPORT, ALONG GENERAL LINES MOCH AND STASSEN PRESENTATIONS ON DISARMAMENT LAST YEAR.

UNITED STATES, SUPPORTED BY UNITED KINGDOM, EXPRESSED GRATIFICATION BELGIAN AND CANADIAN CONTRIBUTIONS AND URGED OTHERS TO COME FORWARD WITH THOUGHTS.

BURGLS:

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By THE NARA, Date 1-5-92